I remarked that the performance of this rite, not kept secret in the fold of the monastery but put completely on public display, was not very honorable for the intendants. The lamas answered, "When squeezed to the wall and when all other rites have been of no avail, the rite has to be performed." Such facts, without stretching the point, are really informative, concerning the type of the intendants.

The overriding importance attached to the appointment of the intendant, who can make a monastery flourish or ruin it, may be explained by the enormous influence exerted in a monastery by them, which matches that of the supreme chief of the institutions, and the stumbling blocks encountered by the intendants, which endanger the correct fulfilling of their office. They serve also to gain a true insight into the frame of mind of the administrative world of the monasteries.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF THE LAMASERIES

DOMAINS

During the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, large domains were granted to the monasteries to provide their means of subsistence. In former times it was easy for the emperors to be lavish in such grants in a sparsely populated country. I never had the opportunity to see the old deeds under which the vast domains of Erh-ku-lung and its flourishing subsidiaries had been granted. Its most important domain is that of the Fan-wu-pu, which it shares with its daughter monastery of Seerkok.[3]

The Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa Hutukhtus were the favorite Living Buddhas of the emperors. It seems an obvious assumption that private domains were also granted to each of them, because Chang-chia was able to found on his properties six branches and eleven villages. T'u-kuan founded seven villages and seven affiliates, while Sumpa founded five branches, and further it is said he disposed of more domains than both Chang-chia and T'u-kuan. The tax and rent revenues collected on their private properties must have been considerable because Chang-chia built nine oil and grain mills and T'u-kuan eighteen, in order to dispose of their grain.

[3] The Fan-wu-pu (the five tribes of barbarians) are situated in the region of Wei-yüan-p'u. They are: (1) Pei-tsui-pu (Narin valley), (2) [illegible]n-tsa-pu (east and west Tsan-tsa), (3) Hsieh-tsa-pu, (4) [illegible]u-tsa-pu (near the mountains), and (5) Kuang-hua-pu (west of Wei-Yüan-p'u). The people living in these vast territories were the subjects of these two lamaseries, to which they paid taxes and rent, and were liable for corvées. All the villages from Pei-tsui-pu eastward (Ha-la-chih and Hung nai valleys) belonged to Erh-ku-lung; those westward to Seerkok. In 1910 both lamaseries still collected the rent of these fields, enjoyed the privilege of traveling for alms among these former subjects, and vindicated the right of still being invited by them for the performance of public and private religious activities. In that region the monastery of Erh-ku-lung had built twenty-four oil and grain mills. These domains were administered in former times by the important T'u-kuan and Seerkok Nang suo.

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4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh-ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kumbum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame" barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if he could bring those who had revolted to submission. He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as described in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received wide domains so that it was able to build the two large branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, harbored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the *Annals* of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that " . . . in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss of these enormous revenues impoverished the monasteries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner received them; but it was customary that the government receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants,

[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, 143.
[6] *Ibid.*, 11.
[7] *Ibid.*, 143.
[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1–7, 1948.

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4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

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The study of the material aspects of the administration of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910–1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaseries flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part I: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part I: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

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In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaseries, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride.

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

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The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, surrounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more or less elaborate residence built within a compound of temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

sisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not allowed to have armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in 1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular armies.[10] Nearly all the monasteries at that time except Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had established three important lamaseries and granted vast domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua 100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas. Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk, Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the

[10] Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed the administrator, who was killed. 643 175

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me. 792 622

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMASERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS 792

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

LAMAS

LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911–1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization. 175 177

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they be-

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

fected the imperial family of the founder of the new Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to alliances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts occupied important administrative posts in the new nation. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

> Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the "Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522. [p.154(B)]

The White Banner was inhabited by the "guardian genius" of Chingis, it would protect his troops and lead them to victory; he would conquer all peoples, for the "Everlasting Blue Sky" had so ordained.[29]

In the same way "Ahura Mazda, among the Achaemenians in Persia, [688–330 B.C.], was said to grant to the great kings their power over other peoples, and to bestow upon them victories." [30] In ancient China "Heaven" was believed either to give or withdraw the emperor's mandate.[31]

Chingis was not only religious, he was superstitious. The need to know the will of "Everlasting Blue Sky" and of "the guardian spirits" was a constant stimulus for communing with "shamans," sorcerers, and divinators.[32] "He believed Kokchu could ascend the 'Sky' and had powerful protectors among the genii." [33] "He instituted the post of *beki* who was to be the state's chief priest, [a shaman], vested with power and officially recognized." [34] "He was fond of Ye-lü Ch'ü-tsai for he was a skillful astrologer." [35] "Chingis viewing all religions with equal favor remained himself a good shamanist, true to the traditions of his people." [36] "He remained a primitive shamanist nomad with a rudimentary sense of moral responsibility to the 'Everlasting Sky' and the 'guardian spirits' and with a fully developed instinct of acquisition." [37]

The impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols was not profound. Professor N. Poppe, reviewing the study of W. Schmidt concerning the religion of the Mongols,[38] notes:

> According to the author the Mongols had monotheism and recognized Heaven as the Supreme power. Heaven was in their opinion, the lord of life and death, was eternal, immortal and omniscient (46–47). The statement about the recognition of that Supreme power by the ancient Mongols is corroborated by quotations of sayings mentioning Heaven and attributed by ancient authors to Chingis Khan, his son Ögedei, the emperors Güyük and Mönke and other historical persons. These sayings were however preserved in writings of various authors who wrote their works much later. Therefore, the question arises whether those sayings are authentic. It is possible that in a number of cases the mention of God as "the creator of the sky and earth" attributed by later writers to the Great Yasa and other documents, reflects ideas inspired in the authors by medieval European theologians, as Dr. Pallisen believes.[39]

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[29] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.
[30] Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 306.
[31] H. G. Creel, *Confucious the man and the myth*, 147, New York, John Day Company.
[32] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 81.
[33] *Ibid.*, 82.
[34] *Ibid.*, 77.
[35] *Ibid.*, 105.
[36] *Ibid.*, 109.
[37] *Ibid.*, 167.
[38] *Anthropos* **48**: 327, 1953; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* **10**: 1952.
[39] Nicolaus Pallisen, Die alte Religon des mongolischen Volkes und die Geschichte des Verhältnisses der Mongolen zu anderen Religionen während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden, 1949.

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wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in such utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368–1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet,

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of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*a*. *Sung Shih* 492: 14*a–b*). In 1065 Chiossulo appointed Tung Chan chief of the tribes. He governed 600,000 subjects. The emperor ratified the appointment in 1068, granted to the new chief the titles previously bestowed upon the father, and seized the opportunity to send Chinese officials to help him administer Huangchung. Tung Chan was a faithful defender of the empire. When the Hsi Hsia in 1070 invaded East Kansu, he attacked them, thus breaking the impact of the invasion. In 1081, 120,000 of his troops fought the Hsi Hsia at the side of the imperial armies. He and his wife were repeatedly bestowed with more and more honorific titles. The Hsi Hsia tried to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to them, but he refused the offer. Thereupon the Hsi Hsia invaded Huangchung and laid siege to his city of Mao-ch'uan. He raised the siege making peace with the Hsi Hsia against the orders of the emperor. He died in 1086 (*Annals* of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*b*. *Annals* of Kansu 46: 11*b*. *Sung Shih* 492: 16*b*).

Jealousy and hatred long smoldered among the wives of Chiossulo. At the death of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, Chiossulo, to humiliate his daughter, had moved her to Kuo Chou, and then a large number of tribes of the Li clan had seceded and moved to the southern part of East Kansu. In 1057, advised by her brother, she had left Kuo Chou and fled with her sons to the city of Tsun K'o, situated in the main territory of the Li clan. Chiossulo, in order to avoid more trouble with the powerful Li clan, appointed her sons as chiefs of the tribes of Ni-ku and T'ao and Ho-chou in East Kansu and the emperor granted them official titles.

However, hatred was already too deeply embedded in the hearts of the Li clan, and Mou Cheng, son of the second wife of Chiossulo, started trouble in East Kansu in 1064, conniving with the Hsi Hsia. The Hsi Hsia were defeated and Mou Cheng submitted to the emperor and received new important titles. At the death of Chiossulo in 1065, Mou Cheng, the leader of the opposition, followed by an important number of clans and in connivance with the Hsi Hsia, was again on the warpath in 1072 in East Kansu. More Chinese armies arrived, cities were taken and retaken, and the wife of Mou Cheng and his children were taken prisoner by General Wang Ch'ao. East Kansu was laid waste. Finally after two years of destruction, Mou Cheng with eighteen chiefs of tribes submitted to China. Again more new important titles were granted to him, and even the name of the Sung dynasty, Chao, was bestowed (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 10, 12. *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 33, 3, 4, 5. *Sung Shih* 492: 14, 16).

The legitimate son of Tung Chan having died, he appointed in 1086 as his successor, A li ku, the son of his beloved concubine, a boy born in Khotan from an unknown father, causing forever the ruin of the T'u-fan kingdom built by Tung Chan. The emperor ratified

the appointment despite the memorial presented to the throne by minister Su Shih (*Annals* of Hsining 33B: 9, 10). The emperor preferred the time-honored policy of his predecessors sowing discord among tribes threatening the empire. He anticipated the annihilation of the tribes by themselves, and the easy recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. The tribes in favor of the legitimate offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo started a murderous struggle with the tribes following A li ku, backed by Chinese troops. Again the savage propensity for self-destruction among the tribes was soon in full sway and tribes tore themselves to pieces. The emperor granted titles to A li ku and his son and also to the offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo. A war of destruction went on until the death of A li ku in 1096, who had appointed his son as his successor. The appointment was again ratified by the emperor. This time all the T'u-fan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted against the empire. A strong army of 100,000 invited Hsi Hsia troops came to rescue them in Mao Ch'uan. A tremendous blow was administered to the Chinese. Then the Chinese general, in desperate straits, made an offer of settlement and invited some T'u-fan chiefs to appoint the son of Mou Cheng as chief of the tribes because, he said, he was the genuine offspring of Chiossulo!

But it was too late. The tribes did not abide by the decision of the chiefs and had become the irreconcilable enemies of China. Murderous fighting continued, the cities in Huangchung were taken and retaken several times and delivered to sack and slaughter by Chinese troops and then by the rebel tribes indulging in acts of gratuitous cruelty. Villages became clusters of ruined hovels. Many tribes disintegrating, groups of them fled to the southern part of East Kansu and to the borders of Kokonor, but the Chinese troops continued fighting against the Huangchung tribes associated with the Hsi Hsia until 1115, laying waste the whole country (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 1, 14; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 6, 7). At that time, the Chin empire embarking upon the conquest of China, the Chinese troops were ordered to leave Huangchung. Chin armies peacefully occupied Huangchung in 1131. Huangchung had enjoyed a period of glory and unusual wealth during fifty years (1036–1086) followed by forty-five years of internecine wars among the tribes and savage destruction of the country (1086–1131).

From 1131 until the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols in 1227, the history of Huangchung is a blank page. The conquest of East Kansu and the war with China and the Hsi Hsia absorbed the whole forces of the Chin emperor. An official appointed in Ho Chou in East Kansu by the Chin cared for the uninteresting, exhausted, and depleted tribes of Huangchung, with its ruined cities and villages and starving T'u-fan, Tanghsiang, Uighur and Shat'o population. It may be assumed that in these circumstances the pitiful tribes

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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discharged his office with distinction until his dying day. The faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu will become more and more manifest during the reigns of the subsequent Ming emperors.

MONGUORS OF HUANGCHUNG DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CH'ENG TSUNG (YUNG LO), 1403–1424

T'ai Tsung, first emperor of the Ming, had appointed as successor his grandson, Huei Ti, an inexperienced young boy. His uncle, the Prince of Yen, youngest son of the emperor, revolted and defeated his nephew in a four year struggle.[74] He ascended the throne in 1403. He was called by the name of the period of his reign, Yung Lo.

Yung Lo, who must have known T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who during 1380–1387 had fought the brigands of the Mongol Emperor T'o ku ssu in Liao-tung, had called the Kansu troops to join his army. T'u-ssu Tuan Chou, who had succeeded his deceased father, went with his troops to rescue Yung Lo in 1399. He died on the field of battle. Yung Lo rewarded the faithful t'u-ssu, granting to his clan the name of Ch'i and giving to the clan chief a mansion in the city of Hsining, and posthumously bestowing upon him the title of Piao-ch'i chiang-chun (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 13*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*b*).

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yi also had taken the side of Yung Lo in his revolt against Huei Ti. He was rewarded with the office of Chih-huei t'ung-chih in Lu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*). During this period more troubles occurred in Huangchung. Lu T'u-ssu Kung Pu shih chieh repelled the invasion of the Mongol Pu Yen ta shih in 1402, who looted the region of Liang-chow. The t'u-ssu offered to Emperor Yung Lo in 1403 the captured prisoners and a tribute of horses. He was promoted to centurion in Chuang Lang.

The same year, 1402, the turbulent I lin sheng pen revolted again in Kokonor and looted the region of Kui Te and the southern valley of Hsining. T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i went to fight the rebel and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*). The troubled conditions in Huangchung at that time seem to have been the reason why no more t'u-ssu participated in the struggle of Yung Lo against Huei Ti.

The new emperor had to contend with the tremendous problem of the Mongols, and this dangerous prospect was not bright. During the reign of his father (1368–1398) nine expeditions had to be launched against them. A constant struggle against the empire and endless dissension of the different tribes among themselves was to be expected. The struggle between

[74] In Monguors II: 16, 21, 22, are recorded the history of the foundation of the monastery of Ch'u T'an by San la, and the wonderful legends circulating among the lamas related to the mysterious disappearance of Emperor Huei Ti, who became lama in the monastery of Ch'u T'an, settled there and died.

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old imperial policy to sow strife among the tribes, making them destroy each other. Yung Lo was as frightened of a Mongol power under the leadership of an offspring of the old Chingis Khan family as of one under the leadership of a rising new and tremendous Oirat group. He decided to launch a campaign against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu.

On April 6, 1414, the emperor himself led the campaign and administered a blow to Ma-ha-mu who escaped in the desert. The emperor was back in Peking on August 15. The Monguor troops of Huangchung had again been called to participate in the expedition. In the following years Alut'ai administered a defeat to the weakened Ma-ha-mu, who died in 1416. Then the emperor recognized the succession of Togon to his father Ma-ha-mu, as chief of the Oirats, and bestowed upon him the title of his father. The flames of hatred of A-lu-t'ai were fanned again against the Oirats and China. In the meantime A-lu-t'ai had secured the help of the Urianghai tribes living on the northern borders of China, which had transferred their allegiance from China to him. He had considered himself strong enough to antagonize China openly.

On April 12, 1422, the emperor started on a third campaign in Mongolia, this time against A-lu-t'ai, and called the Monguor troops. On the arrival of the strong Chinese army, A-lu-t'ai escaped in the desert waste, and the frustrated emperor vented his rage upon the unfaithful Urianghai tribes. The Monguors fought on the borders of the Wu-lang River in Liao-tung and in the Toyen district under command of T'u-ssu Li Yin. T'u-ssu Lu, having captured the Mongol chief Alahan on the Han t'an River, was rewarded with titles, silver, and silk clothes (family chronicle).

In 1423 the emperor resolved to finish definitely with A-lu-t'ai and started personally with a fourth expedition, calling the Huangchung troops. T'u-ssu Lu, on his way to the north, passed through the country of Ho-lan-shan and encountered the Mongol Prince Chung T'ung and troops of Yeh-hsien, which he captured. Just at the time the expedition was on the move, the Oirat chief Togon administered a blow to A-lu-t'ai, who escaped in the Gobi. The emperor understood that the expedition was doomed. He returned to Peking on December 9.

In 1424 A-lu-t'ai, despite the defeats he had suffered, was still strong enough to plunder the borders of the empire. The frustrated and enraged emperor decided to equip and lead a fifth expedition. All available troops were mustered and the expedition moved the second of May. A-lu-t'ai again vanished in the desert. The Mongols proved once more not to be easy game. The despondent emperor died on his way back to Peking, in Yu-mu-ch'uan, on August 18.[79]

In 1423 a Tibetan lama, Chang ta lama, was living in Hsining, appointed by Emperor Yung Lo as a translator of Tibetan texts. His morals were dissolute. He

[79] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 28–32; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5–12.

M 175x 648
HM 175 648
M [643]
HM [554]
M [643]
M HM [702]
M 175x 648

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While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace.

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established.

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population.

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

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colony which the Mongols had handed down to the Ming. 175×

HUANGCHUNG MONGUORS AND THEIR T'U-SSU DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

175× 648

The establishment of a new dynasty in China used to entail desperate times for a long period. The faithful Monguors with their t'u-ssu, after having defended the Ming dynasty to the end, pledged allegiance to, and cast their lot with the new Ch'ing dynasty, and again would prove their faithfulness. This time they had to fight at the side of the Manchu troops against the rebel Chinese officials of Kansu and all China, even though the power of the new dynasty was still problematical, but all of them remained heroically loyal and dependable to the end, suffering hardship and dying for the dynasty. Their faithfulness in such trying and tragic circumstances cannot but be admired. The history of the Monguors is a shining example of faithfulness seldom recorded in history. 175× 577 648

The people in the northern provinces of China had, for many years, had a desperate time on account of the brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng and the invading groups of Manchus looting the country of its wealth. The despairing Ming emperor had hanged himself on April 25, 1644, and Li Tzu-ch'eng had entered the capital and proclaimed himself emperor. The Ming general Wu San-kuei defended the northern part of the great wall of the empire and the pass of Shanhaikuan against invading Manchu plunderers. Considering that the very existence of the empire was at stake and abhorring and loathing the savage brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng, Wu San-kuei invited Manchu troops to come over to annihilate the brigands and save the dynasty. However he had little thought that in making this compact he was sealing the fate of the Chinese empire. He opened the pass, and his troops in combination with those of the Manchus rushed to the capital which they entered on June 6, 1644. The brigand emperor Li Tzu-ch'eng had fled, but the Manchus proclaimed their own emperor and inaugurated their Ch'ing dynasty. On October 7 Li Tzu-ch'eng died. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the chiefs of the brigands and their impact was broken. Immediately Wu-San-kuei, leading his troops in concert with the Manchu army, pursued the brigands and achieved the surrender of the Chinese provinces. 175× 648 [443]

At the end of 1645, T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien and Li T'ien-yu surrendered in T'ung Kuan to the Manchu Prince A-ki-ko, came back to Kansu, and called on General Meng Ch'iao-fang. They were rehabilitated and ordered to induce the surrender of the Monguor t'u-ssu. All the t'u-ssu submitted to the new dynasty (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). Meng Ch'iao-fang immediately sent to Hsining Commanders Chiang San-chih (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 3*b*) and Chang Chi-yao [424]

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opened and for three days the wild Jungars destroyed and looted the temples and the city, killing many people. La Tsang was killed.

The emperor could not take this affront lying down. However, his first punitive expedition to Lhasa was defeated in 1718. The second in 1720 parted in two columns, one leaving Szechwan Province, the other starting from Hsining. On the way both encountered Jungar troops which were defeated, fled and left Tibet. T'u-ssu Lu T'i-sin was taken ill at that time and sent his son Lu Hua-lin, commanding his troops, to participate in the expedition. Back in Huangchung he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the Hsining army, and later colonel in Liangchow and brigadier general in Kanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The emperor, cognizant of the growing animosity of the lamas and the people against his appointed Dalai Lama Yeches, and of the aversion aroused in the hearts of the lamas and the Tibetans against the savage Jungars who had looted their temples and carried away the riches of the nation and killed many people, conversant with their eagerness to see enthroned in Lhasa the Dalai Lama secluded in Kumbum, resolved to send the lama to Lhasa with the Hsining army and to enthrone him as a new sixth Dalai Lama. The decision seemed to him apt to reconquer the sympathy of the Tibetans and the lamas, and to plant in their hearts aversion for the Jungars, who were waging war with him in Central Asia with an eye on Tibet.

The emperor, averred politician, in order to assure the success of his plan, ordered the Monguor Living Buddha, T'u Kuan, chief of the renowned Monguor monastery of Erh Ku Lung in Hsining, a learned man of high repute in Tibet and Mongolia, to convey the Kumbum Lama to Lhasa in the capacity of imperial envoy. He bestowed him with the title of Huthukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas, in order to dignify his position. He gave him letters and unusual gifts to bring to the Panchen Lama and to the heads of the most important monasteries in Tibet, his former teachers and friends. The Kumbum Dalai Lama, brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence and enthroned in 1720, was enthusiastically congratulated by the lamas and the Tibetans. This act put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church. The Monguors were proud of their Huthukhtu (Monguors II: 31). The sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was dethroned and called to Peking in order to prevent possible complications.[92]

[92] Maurice Courant, *op. cit.*, 76-77. W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China 1644-1908, *T'oung-pao*, 1-92, 1910. E. Haenich, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Gegenwärtigen Dynasty, *T'oung-pao*, 197-235, 375-424, 1911. Réné Grousset, *op. cit.* Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Washington, 1943. L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*. Lieden, Brill, 1950. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, *passim*.

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from wars and revolts, never had suffered as much as in 1723–1724. 175× 727

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

After relating the successful repression by General Nien Keng-yao of the terrible revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas in 1723–1724 in Huangchung, something should be said concerning two Manchu princes, accused by the general before Emperor Yung Cheng, of having contributed of their own money to the building of a Catholic church in Hsining in 1723–1724. 175× 798

This is the first document concerning the existence of a Catholic church in Hsining and consequently of a Catholic community. It seems unusual to see a general make such an accusation directly to the emperor, at a time when the conjunctures of war absorbed all his forces and energies (July 1, 1724). [795]

Emperor K'ang Hsi died on December 20, 1722. His fourth son, Yung Cheng, ascended the throne in 1723. According to the time-honored custom, some of the brothers of the new emperor assumed an attitude of menacing hostility toward him. The Emperor Yung Cheng suspected his ninth brother, Sessaka, of being the chief of the discontented faction and sent him (April 15, 1723) far away to Hsining to fight the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas under the command of General Nien Keng-yao. Together with Sessaka two sons of the Manchu Prince Surniana were also sent, the sixth, Lessihin, and the twelfth.[94] [443]

Surniana, a brother of the late Emperor K'ang Hsi, member of the oldest branch of the Manchu dynasty, had been a notorious governor in Liaotung province and was the chief of one of the eight Manchu banners. He was suspected by Emperor Yung Cheng of being a sympathizer and supporter of the Sessaka group. He and his entire family were banished to Yu Wei, on the northern outskirts of the empire. His properties were confiscated, his three hundred servants and slaves taken away, all his dignities removed, and he and his family reduced to the state of subjects. The wealthy Surniana had thirteen sons and sixteen daughters. Most of the these princes and princesses were Catholics. The sixth son, Lessihin, was baptized before he left for Hsining and the twelfth son when he arrived at Hsining. They were confined in separate houses and guarded by soldiers. 175× 798 578

The reason for these troubles were the accusations sent September 7, 1723, by the Viceroy of Chekiang and Fukien provinces to the tribunal of rites, concerning the building of Catholic churches in the provinces, the customs observed by the Catholics, the large number of priests in the country, etc. The viceroy favored a

[94] The charge seems to have been based on slander. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses 3: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. Histoire Generale de la Chine, De Mailla. 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, rue Saint Jacques, 1880.